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197 vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputs, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people. [648] Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

197 621 With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. The custom of taking wives from outside the [582] home village links them together, especially as a married couple [591] will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their 604 respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long periods in the household of their mother's brother. Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for [438] barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

484 624 Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

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example, I found that the Petats people were familiar with all the small islands along the reef, and with the villages on the west coast of Buka, from Lontis in the north to Novar on the south, with all of which their genealogies showed that they had intermarried. They also associated with certain, but not all, of the villages of Central Buka, such as Sapani and Kohiso, and with Malasang on the east coast, whither they went to trade for pots. They were much less at home with the people of the north and east, whose affinities are mostly with the Bougainville coast. The difference came out in the demeanour of my companions on a tramp round the island during which we stayed at most of the principal villages.

The people of Kurtatchi have friendly contact with all the villages along the north coast of Bougainville, those of Tabut, Timputs, and Baniu, which speak the same dialect, being their closest affiliations. They are distrustful of the Hahon people living in the villages of the foot-hills behind the coast-line, though they do, on occasion, trade with them and attend their ceremonies. Several of the people of Kurtatchi originally belonged to Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka, and there are also kinship affiliations with Malasang. Little contact takes place between Kurtatchi and the villages on the west side of Buka, not only because of the difference of dialect, but also because the sea journey involved, by Buka Passage and up the coast, is much longer and apt to be difficult.

THE VILLAGE

Though very far from being a closed society, as will be evident from the preceding paragraph, the village yet forms a definite local group, possessing a certain amount of conscious unity. Where an American Indian will give you the name of his tribe, a Buka or Bougainville native tells you the name of his village. The inhabitants of, say, Baniu or Timputs will be spoken of by the people of Kurtatchi as 'the Baniu' or 'the Timputs'—I have often been told that 'the Baniu' would attend a certain ceremony, or 'the Timputs' would do this or that. In introducing to me a stranger who happened to be visiting Kurtatchi, the name of his village would always be mentioned before anything else, that being clearly considered the important thing in the matter of his identification.

Sites of villages. There is a succession of villages all round the coast of Buka, at intervals varying from a few hundred yards to

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501 [426] a large *mon* is very great, and there is not much occasion for its use, such canoes are sometimes lent to other villages when required for a special occasion.

[343] The *mon* is used for long journeys, or for bonito fishing. It is kept in a specially built shed (*kek*) on the shore near a place convenient for launching. It is always carried down to the water, several men or boys helping on each side (Pl. 53), and must never be dragged along the ground like a dug-out, or it would suffer injury. At the edge of the reef, if the tide is low, or at the edge of the water if it is high, the canoe is laid down, and its crew watch carefully for a break in the surf-waves through which they can run with it, shouting in their excitement, and jumping in as soon as it reaches deep water. To watch for a favourable time to get through the surf is *warēn ia*, to take advantage of a pause in the rollers to launch it is *wasiaro* (*siaro* also means fair weather).

Paddling. Except for the seat at the stern, which is occupied by the steersman only, two paddlers sit on each *poan*, the width of which necessitates their sitting so close to each other that one wonders their movements are not hampered by the proximity. If the number of people available is insufficient, some of the *poan* may be occupied by one person only, in which case he paddles on alternate sides, otherwise there is no possibility of changing over, an amenity which they do not seem to miss. The paddle is the same as that used in the dug-out canoe, which has been described on p. 369. The paddle used by the steersman does not differ from that of the others. They take one strong stroke, with the paddle held upright, close to the side of the boat, alternating with a short stroke with the paddle held in a more sloping position and slightly away from it. Women paddle as well as men, and with equal facility. But there are certain *mon*, decorated with one particular design, which women may not enter (see p. 433), and they may not possess or use paddles ornamented with the conventional figure (*kokorra*) shown in Fig. 27 (p. 435). With a following wind, a large leaf may be held up to act as a sail, supplementing, but never replacing, the efforts of the paddlers.

502 ● 484 439 *Voyages.* The people of the North Bougainville coast are not great sailors, and seldom venture on trips more than a few miles from the shore. Those of Buka, particularly the men of Lontis and Hanahan, are more venturesome, and go, on occasion, as far as the island of Nissan, a trip involving little short of a hundred

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miles, mostly of open and sometimes stormy sea, to buy the pigs for which Nissan is famous. One such expedition, about two years—so far as I could interpret their vague ideas as to time—before my arrival, met with disaster, two canoes and about forty men being lost. No trip had been made since. While I was there the Hanahan people were talking of making another, but it seemed doubtful whether it would materialize. I obtained from a Hanahan native an account of such a trip, which I give, in spite of its length, because it contains several points of interest. Unfortunately I have no record of the time of year at which this voyage is supposed to have taken place, so it is not possible to identify the stars which serve as guide.

A Voyage to Green Island (Nissan)

When people go to Green Island, they start in a *mon* about sunset. When they get to the open sea it is dark. A star called Ton comes into sight, straight in front of them, in the direction they want to go. Then another comes up, it is called Data. When Data has risen completely, they pick up another star, called Seiposa. When Seiposa has risen, there is another called Totoŋolo (that is the name of a big fish which has a large mouth and two hands). When it has come up, Reki (flying fox) comes, then another star, Wisiessi. When they are nearly there they see Kulu (a pigeon which has almonds in its mouth). Then they pick up Kuri (big freshwater crab). When it has risen they pick up Ienatchena (big fish). Then comes Tonlan (the morning star). When they see Tonlan, one man stands up, he looks, and looks, and looks. As soon as it is light enough he sees land a long way off. It is called Haputan. Then he says: 'Come on, paddle, you fellows, paddle the canoe, I think we can see Haputan.' Then they all paddle hard, and come up closer, and all the trees look big now. That is Green Island.

Then one man, who knows how to make rain, takes a drinking coco-nut, and sings a song. I do not know what it is, only the *tsunaun* know it. Then all the men drink one coco-nut, they drink all of it, then they eat taro. They do not stop to eat on the journey, in case a big wind comes and catches the *mon*; then they would all be lost. When they have finished eating they all wash in the sea; then the canoe goes ashore on the island. When they have all gone ashore, the man who knows how to make rain talks, and a big wind comes up at Hanahan, and breaks branches off the trees belonging to the people of Hanahan; then they know that the canoe has arrived. They say: 'The canoe has gone ashore at Green Island, it is not lost.' When the canoe gets back they do the same, they make a big wind blow on Green Island, so that the people there know that it has got home safely.

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484 The people of Hanahan go to Green Island to get *beroan* (shell currency) and fish, because the fishing at Hanahan is not good. They also
439 buy pigs, because the pigs of Green Island are bigger than the pigs at
197 Hanahan. The people of Green Island are the same people as those of Hanahan, and talk the same language, but the people of Green Island talk very slowly, it sounds as if they were sad and wanted to cry. (Here the speaker gave an imitation, in a high-pitched voice with a whining tone and a drop at the end of every sentence.) They pay for the *beroan* and the pigs and the fish with taro, pots, and paint, which they get from Tiop.

484 They stop two days, and fish; there are plenty of fish at Green Island.
[789] When the men are ready to come back, a man of Green Island takes hold of the canoe and says some words to make the canoe run quickly and come back to Hanahan. The people of Green Island know these words, the Hanahan people do not know them. They leave at dusk, and come back to Hanahan in the early morning. They do not take so long as they did to go to Green Island, because the sea pushes the canoe.

502 Here the narrator ceased, but further inquiry elicited the information that they steer by the same stars, watching till they are high enough in the sky to be seen in front of the canoe. When they get near home they look for the point called Hanapan (the most northerly headland on Buka) and for the highest mountain on Buka, which they call Langono (I am not sure just where this is). When they get closer to the shore they must steer away from the island or else they would be carried round the northern edge of the island on to the Lontis coast. They beach the canoe at sunrise.

House-building

361 From the plan and description of the village given in Chapter I, it will be seen that the huts (*inu*) are always set up in lines. When a new one is to be added to the line, the position of the front is determined by stretching a piece of creeper or fibre string along the line of the houses already in position, and continuing it farther to the site of the new one. The backs of the huts are not alined, as some are much longer than others, owing to the fact that increase in size is always obtained by adding to the length at the back, the width remaining practically constant in all.

342 The first procedure in house-building is to put in pieces of stick to mark the corners, using the string as above described. Along the sides, uprights (*kurik*) are set up in double rows, just wide enough apart for the insertion between them of the slats which they are

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Fire-making by this method is practised by men and boys only. It is resorted to if easier means of obtaining fire are not available. I have seen it done in the bush, but only when we were some distance from a friendly village. The usual plan is to borrow a glowing stick from some one else's fire. One of the first and most frequent commands a child hears from its elders is '*Di ma ta tsura!*' 'Fetch fire.' The youngster, possibly an infant hardly able to walk, toddles off to the nearest hut and returns with a burning stick or a small portion of a smouldering log, with which a new fire is started. When on a journey, either walking or by canoe, lengths of smouldering log are carried, with which to rekindle the inevitable pipe. In an outrigger canoe the log is usually laid across the platform, and many canoes bear blackened marks where it has been allowed to burn down unnoticed. Serious accidents caused by this seem, however, to be rare.

A fire is kept smouldering in the huts all through the night. Any one who happens to wake up when it is low will stir up the embers or throw on another piece of wood. If it chances to go out, the woman to whom the house belongs will rekindle it as soon as she wakes, getting a smouldering ember from a neighbouring hut. The fire serves several purposes. It keeps the place warm—for nights even on the Equator can be distinctly cold, relatively speaking. The smoke serves as some protection against the mosquitoes. It is very likely that any one waking in the night will want to rekindle a pipe. The presence of a fire, however small, is also held to be a safeguard against a visit from one of the *urar*, the spirits of the dead, who are never very far away.

Torches are made by bending the fronds of a dry coco-nut palm leaf towards the distal end, where they are tied in a bundle. They burn for a long time. I am not sure whether any resinous substance is ever put into the bundle, but if so, it is not invariably the case, as I have seen many torches made and burned which had none. Even quite small children make these.

In their handling of fire these people exhibit a degree of casualness which frequently caused me, accustomed to the meticulous care exercised by American Indians, no little anxiety. Yet it is remarkable how little damage to person or property occurs through fires. Probably the extreme humidity of the climate is their salvation, but their escape seems to be rather the result of good luck than good judgement.

202 410

AESTHETIC ARTS

[527] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

/ // /..// /..// /..//..// /////..//

[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

/ ..... //// ..... //// ..... ////

[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

/// .....// .....// .....// .....///

9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// ..

10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

/ ..... /..... / // ..... /

11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[68] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutf* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of bread-fruit.

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Conch-shell (tsuwiy).

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound the conch is *piu o tsuwiy.*

The *tsuwiy* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the *watawutʃ* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies. The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

The musical bow (hoykoyo).

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow (Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator, while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instrument which is found, with various modifications, in various parts of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

The jews' harp (pokpoko).

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instruments were originally reversed.

Story of origin of pokpoko

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *hoykoyo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

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302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[751] [484] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 184 856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 593 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 589 765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

302 [412 177] Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

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XII

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to bring together what information I could obtain concerning material possessions, their acquisition, ownership, and inheritance.

BARTER

A well-organized and to some extent standardized system of barter takes place regularly between various villages. The word used for such an organized exchange of commodities is *toan* in the Petats dialect and *tog* in the Kurtatchi dialect. The most important arrangement of this kind is the exchange of fish and taro between coastal and inland villages. Few villages are so fortunate in their geographical situation as to be self-contained as regards both these essentials to existence. The land near the coast is not very good for growing taro; the inland peoples have only the small amount of fish they can take from the rivers. There are, therefore, at short intervals, prearranged meetings of the women of one village with the women of another for the exchange of these commodities at fixed rates. Certain villages trade regularly with certain others, but their operations may also, on occasion, extend farther afield.

The people of Petats are well situated in respect of facilities for fishing, but they have little ground suitable for growing taro. The exchange from this village is therefore with the villages of the hill districts of central Buka, where taro grows well. The meeting-place is either on the coast of Buka or on the Government road running through the centre of the island, at some spot about halfway between the two places, so that the distance is not excessive for either party. The trips are made several times a week, except in very unfavourable weather, sometimes on consecutive days if fish are plentiful. For example, parties went from Petats on Oct. 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 23. They start before dawn, especially when a canoe journey of some length is involved, because there is generally less wind than later in the day. Sometimes one or two men will accompany the party to help with the paddling, but they take no part in the bartering. It is the duty of the husband, or

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Journeys of some length are not uncommon. Two men from Kurtatchi, and the wife of one of them, set out on a trip to Numanuma, on the east coast of Bougainville, in company with women from Ruri, in order to purchase supplies of paint. They took with them several strings of trade beads, some tobacco, and some shillings. They went in a *mon*, leaving soon after sunrise, intending to sleep at Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner. Leaving Tiop when the morning star Sowitoan had risen, they would reach Numanuma soon after sunrise. They expected the people of the mountains to meet them there with the paint; if they did not, they would go on a little farther to another village. They were to buy *oin*, *tʃina*, *owan*, *itsu*, and *wiwi* (these are described on p. 416 f.). Sleeping at Tiop on the way back, they expected to be at Kurtatchi in the course of the following morning. They told me this before leaving, and did actually return to the village at the time scheduled. Rates: 1 bamboo of *oin* (the most valuable paint) = 3 sticks of tobacco (equal to about a shilling). The other paints were paid for at a somewhat cheaper rate, the quantities obtained for 3 sticks of tobacco being larger.

Parties of men in a *mon* used to go from Lontis and Hanahan to the island of Nissan (see p. 381) to buy pigs, for which Nissan is famous. On these trips the pigs are sometimes paid for in ceremonial currency; one fathom of *imun* (see p. 448) will purchase a medium-sized pig.

Some other rates of exchange which I obtained in course of inquiry are as follows:

A slit-gong may be purchased for 1 fathom of *imun*, 1 fathom of *beroan*, and 10 bamboos of red paint (*oin*).

In the olden days a good stone axe cost 10 bamboos of *oin*.

A *mon* for bonito fishing, with two planks, which the people of Petats were considering buying from Lontis, was to be paid for with one female pig, not very large; a number of women's packs, consisting of *kōbū* and wide strips of prepared banana fibre used both to increase the capacity of the *kōbū* and also to sling it from the shoulders; and some spears, the actual number had not been agreed upon. When I asked why they did not make a *mon* for themselves, they said they had not enough 'putty nut'. They admitted that they could have obtained supplies of this from Buka, but they preferred to buy the *mon* ready made.

A chain of exchanges which came to my notice is interesting as

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159 The other animals are all such as are regarded with apprehension (except in the case of persons specially associated with them, as explained in pp. 524–7). One young man, who dreamed that he caught a snake and was bitten by it, had the day before actually caught a snake in the bush, and had pretended to frighten the other men by chasing them with it.

(*g*) *Going a journey.*

159 484 As will have been apparent from previous chapters, a good deal of moving to and fro among the various villages within reach goes on, either by walking or by canoe. Women as well as men participate in these excursions, and it is not surprising to find them represented in the dream-life of both sexes and all ages. The vicissitudes often experienced on such journeys are also present in dreams. They offer further evidence as to the frequency with which the 'manifest content' of the dreams in this collection is based on recent activities. The following is a typical example:

159 No. 53. Wasaman (boy aged 10 or 11, wearing *upi*).

I dreamed I went with Murē (an older man) and Wakuis (a boy about the same age as the dreamer) to Ieta in a *tfiniv* (dug-out canoe, not actually suitable for so long a journey, for which a *mon* would probably be used). The sun was just about to set, but Murē said we would go back. Wakuis and I said: 'The sun will have gone down directly, we can't go back to-night.' Then Wakuis said: 'Never mind, we will paddle hard and get as far as Tarongen and go ashore there for the night.' So we went to Tarongen. This was a pleasant dream.

The following contains a bizarre element:

No. 88. Patu (adult male).

I dreamed I was going along and I came to a big river; there was no bridge and no tree trunk. There was a snake lying in the river. I wanted to go across the river on the snake, just as if it had been a tree trunk. The snake shook, and I was afraid, and ran quickly and got across. This is a bad dream.

(*h*) *Falling from a height.*

In five of these, the fall is from a tree, in two from a cliff, and two are of falling in space. They occur to both sexes (all adult, except one adolescent girl). One is of an intentional jump from a tree. This is a recognized method of committing suicide and is apparently so intended in the dream.

observations, however, place it beyond any doubt that a difference 184
really exists and that it is not only an ethnographic one, but possibly
also anthropological.[1] The inland inhabitants are shorter and thinner 184
than the coastal inhabitants; their arms and legs are less muscular; 192
the upper part of the body is more highly developed in comparison
with the lower extremities (especially lengthwise); and their skin
color is always completely black. I scarcely need to mention the [197]
fact that the language is different. On the other hand it is extremely 439
interesting that the weapons of the coastal inhabitants are produced
almost exclusively by the inlanders and are obtained from them by
way of trade.(1) This is all the more astonishing since the material

1. The tribes of the interior, who live in 184
the ravines and on the declivities of the 484
steep mountains, seem to have only slight
intercourse with one another; in any case
none exists between the mountain inhabit-
ants of the northern half of the island and
those of the southern half. The northern
Emperor Range is completely cut off from
the southern Crown Prince Range by a deep
depression which, according to statements
of the natives, is only slightly above sea
level at Empress Augusta Bay; as a matter
of fact, from the east as well as the west
wide swampy plains extend far inland. There
is a much more active intercourse among
the various coastal inhabitants. From Buka
and the north coast of Bougainville boats go
to Cap le Cras on the east coast and to
Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast and
sometimes even farther. From the Shortland
Islands in the Bougainville Strait and from
Mono Island, which lies farther southwest,
extended journeys are made to the north;
the deceased chieftains Gorai from Shortland
and Mule from Mono had undertaken trips to
Buka on various occasions and knew not only

[1] [i.e. physical Anthropological. — Analyst]

the names of the various small islands at the northwest corner of Bougainville, but also the names of the local chieftains. In Empress Augusta Bay I found people from Mono and Shortland who had settled there; in the village of Nomanoma on the east coast I met a native I knew from Buka who had married a Nomanoma woman and as a result had settled there. Gorai in Shortland told me that his father, a native of Mono, had subjugated and exterminated the original local population with the aid of his people; he claimed that the present-day inhabitants of the Shortland Islands comprised recent settlers from all the surrounding islands. Among Gorai's numerous wives many came from Bougainville, some from Mono, and others from Choiseul. From all of this it becomes apparent that the coastal population, for generations, has frequently shifted and been moved about, whereas the inland population in its inaccessible mountain position was, to be sure, exposed to the attacks of the coastal inhabitants (of whom certain individuals were occasionally led into captivity as slaves), yet preserved its character in a purer and more pristine condition than the coastal inhabitants, who have been exposed to so many influences. [567]

for their manufacture is also present in the coastal regions and since, as a matter of fact, the inlanders can obtain many things that they use for making them only by bartering with the coastal peoples. I can explain this circumstance only in this way: the coastal inhabitants were later intruders from other Melanesian islands who were not familiar with these weapons. Comprehending their great advantages, they took over their use and procured them from the original inhabitants. We find bows, arrows, and spears as instruments of war in Buka and Bougainville, on the islands in the Bougainville [3] Strait and on Mono.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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either sex, further back than, and including, a grandparent. Then he told the following story.

Muwatskawits and his kinsman.

All the men went to catch *inang* (very small fish, which are boiled to make a kind of soup) with *auna* (nets having a specially fine mesh). They caught *inang*. Muwatskawits came close up to their legs all the time. My grandfather (*tubune*) Tchiabuin was angry with him. "Don't come up all the time round our legs. You must not bite the legs of all these men." Muwatskawits came up underneath Tchiabuin between his legs, and picked him up. He did not eat him, he played with him, he carried him without hurting him. He went inside his hole. He went, he talked, and said: "You look at my bed, I want to show you my place." He called out to all his children: "You fellows come up, so that my kinsman can see all my children." He showed him everything, then he brought him back to the shore just opposite the place where our people are buried. He (*i.e.* Tchiabuin) went ashore. He said: "Muwatskawits caught me in the water, he showed me his house, and his bed, and all his children." They all made a feast for him, they caught a pig, they washed my grandfather's skin, all the women got salt-water and poured it over his legs. (This is the custom when anyone returns safely from a long journey.) The shark came up, he went and lay on the sand. My grandfather ran with a piece of the pig and gave it to him.

Now if a shark from another place wants to eat us, Muwatskawits chases him and kills him, so that he dies. "You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you."

These stories were told me by Togen, a middle-aged man living at Kurtatchi but originally from Timputs, a village some twenty-five miles further along the coast in an easterly direction.